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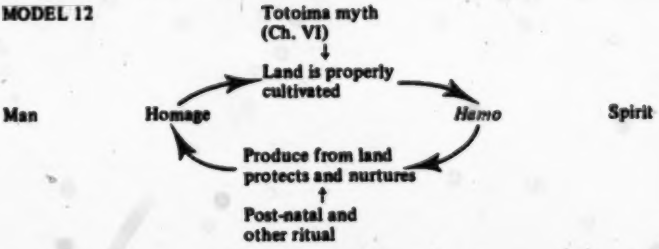
was thought to inhere in his old garden plot and in the products growing there, or more specifically perhaps in the water flowing through the garden, for it is in the water that the dead tend to live, even though in a more general sense they are everywhere in the garden, as well as in the abode of the dead under the mountain and in other places also. The transfer of the *hamo* to the child is a drawn-out process that may last a year or so. It is done through the mediation of the stick. A mother carries this stick with her every day as she goes to the gardens and she is supposed to hang the child from the stick as she does her work. I have actually seen another mother do this for months. The child draws soul substance through the stick all the time and as the taro and other crops fill out and become vigorous, the child will do the same. It is through this absorption of *hamo* that the child can later fulfil the promise made to the dead Jarata, namely to look after the garden from which he has drawn his life-force.

The ritual formulae spoken by the parents in the garden and quoted above both clearly have the form of a bargain, by which the spirit of the deceased is asked to give *hamo* (a combination of supernatural protection and nutrient strength) to the infant in exchange for proper homage. This transaction may be expressed in the following exchange cycle.

MODEL 12



Superficially, it may appear that the exchange cycle given here offers a generalisation that goes far beyond the data I have presented. My data present a transaction between a deceased and a particular couple, with one particular child, who promise to look after the land. My model, however shows a transaction between any spirit attached to a piece of land, and any cultivator. Yet it may rightly be argued that every couple cultivates, at one time or another, a large number of plots, and that only some of these plots are linked to their cultivators through post-natal rites performed in respect of themselves or their children. This argument, however, is irrelevant. Spirits are attached to every garden plot, and there is always some person charged with the care of those spirits. The senior member of an extended family, the 'father of the ground' (*enda numa*) has the ultimate responsibility to see that the spirits are not neglected. When he gives any cultivator a usehold over a piece of land, it is understood that this cultivator takes over the care of the spirits on the land. This care includes making food offerings to the spirit on a raised platform built for that purpose. More broadly, the responsibility to the spirit also involves the proper performance of all ritual and horticultural activities prescribed as parts of the cultivation cycle.

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Why does man have this duty? According to the data I have presented, the duty arises out of a promise made at the time of birth. The land is identified with the ancestor who gave the infant its body. The cultivator works not only to 'survive' but also to repay to that ancestor the debt he has incurred by being given a body.

These beliefs are relevant not only to land as a mediating element between living and dead, but also between man and man. The religious system is unconcerned with the consanguineous relationship between the living servitor and the spirit of the dead. It is the service alone that counts, while the capacity to provide the service rests on no more than the authorised occupancy of land. The implication for land transactions between men is that such transactions can never be purely economic.

In the present instance Jarata's brother, in lending his plot to a classificatory brother-in-law, simultaneously passed over the duty to care for the spirit of his dead brother, whose spirit resided on that plot. This is especially interesting as that affine (and his son Jarata (2), if he had lived) belonged to a clan different from the spirit's. Thus, on a religious level, there is no recognition of a clan's 'right' to certain land, but only of a sequence of cumulative co-operative acts between man and spirit, such that each move by one party calls forth an appropriate move in response. We shall now turn to the social aspect of these transactions, i.e. the conditions upon which authorised occupancy is granted.

4. *Transfer of Useholds between Agnates*

In suggesting that land transfers should be studied as social rather than as economic transactions, we may meet with the initial objection that land transfers occur in response to economic needs and are adequately explained without introducing social considerations. But among the Orokaiva, there are many land transfers for which an economic explanation would in practice be hard to find. Certainly there are cases where land is transferred to a household notably short of land, but I know of more cases where the purpose of transfer was to have the company of a good friend on a neighbouring plot and other cases where the only discernible purpose was to make a gift and strengthen a social bond. Crocombe and Rimoldi have recorded a large number of land transfers in Inonda and Sivepe, a large proportion of which were outside the extended family and even outside the lineage. By no means all of these were redistributions to help the deprived. Many were mainly for the sake of strengthening sociability. It is therefore reasonable to inquire into the significance of land in the mediation of social relationships.

We may, first of all, divide these transfers into two broad types: those occurring within corporate groups, and those occurring outside them. In a strict unilineal system, it would be possible to draw a land map showing areas owned by a lineage, and if the system were segmentary, one might speak of a clan domain, a tribal domain and so forth. Such boundaries would theoretically remain unchanged in perpetuity as each generation inherited holdings in the patriline or matriline. No New Guinea system of which we have a recent professional description approximates even remotely to such a model, at least in practice, as we find that many land holdings in so-called patrilineal groups pass into the hands of uterine kin and affines. Among the Orokaiva the departures

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423 425 611 from a patrilineal norm are so frequent that it is unusual for any man to hold precisely the same blocks as his father who was *enda mama* before him. Nor do clan boundaries and village boundaries remain unchanged for any length of time. In themselves, such departures from patrilineal ideology do not in the least reduce the usefulness of a descent model for the explanation of Orokaiva land tenure, providing that we can plausibly regard all departures from the patrilineal rule as random responses to the vicissitudes of life. In the past, some New Guinea ethnographers have proceeded from this assumption, whereas others (e.g. Lawrence 1967) were willing to recognise structural regularities in the transfer of land to persons other than agnates:

> The potential social relationships which can be deduced from titles to land are of great theoretical importance. They represent an interlocking system of rights and obligations which can reinforce purely biological relationships (those of kinship and descent) within the security circle. (Lawrence 1967:114)

428 423 425 The first question that needs to be resolved, in the case of the Orokaiva, is whether there is really a *rule* enjoining a man to leave his land to his sons (if he has any). I found the rule to be much more ambiguous. If a man has sons, he is expected to leave them *at least half* his land, but he is free to dispose of the other half to others – sisters, daughters, adopted children, for example. Thus a degree of freedom of disposition *is built into the Orokaiva system.* The many cases of non-patrilineal inheritance quoted by Rimoldi, and others I could add, are therefore not exceptions to a rule but the operation of a rule clearly stated by informants. In this discussion, I shall first show on a purely empirical basis that some land transfers are explained by a principle of descent and others on the principle of what Lawrence calls reinforcement of relationships within the security circle. Next, I shall investigate how far the transactional model developed above can provide a principle of higher generality which will sufficiently explain *all* land transfers, patrilineal and other. In the present section I shall concentrate on transfers within the patrilineage.

596 423 [554] [768] We have seen earlier in this discussion that the obligation to 'look after' a plot of land formally arises out of an arrangement between an individual (a newly born child) and an ancestor. In practice, however, the ultimate responsibility falls on the head of the extended family, the 'father of the ground' (*enda mama*). This *enda mama* inherits his title from his father or elder brother who died before him. If he has sisters, younger brothers, children or grandchildren, all these will regard him as *enda mama.* Thus, the death of an individual will not affect the performance of the obligation to ancestors living on the land, as the *enda mama* will either discharge these obligations himself or appoint some other occupier to carry them out.

596 [627] Politically, the *enda mama* acts as leader of his group both externally and internally. In external disputes he champions members of his group against the claims of outsiders. This role is an exceedingly important one and many examples are given where a young man who had a perfectly valid claim to land could not take possession of it because he had nobody to 'speak for him'. (His father was dead.) Internally, in conflicts between members of the extended family, the word of the *enda mama* is final. Nobody outside the family can

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423 benefits between non-agnates? One might answer this question in a preliminary
431 way by saying that land is the only valuable permanent economic asset the
571 Orokaiva have at their disposal for the making of gifts to relatives and close kin.
Such gifts, apart from their economic significance, buttress social relationships
[769] both inside and outside the clan. The recipient is induced to maintain or assume
a filial attitude towards the donor, with all the political implications this may
have; a requirement evident not only from the social responsibilities he is apt to
accept but also from the magico-religious care he must take of the spirit (ancestor
of the donor) resident on the land.

423 Land gifts made to non-agnates should be considered not solely from the
431 viewpoint of sentiment, but also of their social consequence. When gifts are
593 made to a sister or daughter, the husband or son or the recipient must
subsequently, in regular daily practice, show increased allegiance to her family.
The *enda mama* of that land has become, in some ways, similar to a true father.
The recipient is made to feel, however gently, that he is a dependent.
Furthermore, it is a situation which it behoves him to manipulate; his rights are
always ultimately uncertain. He must try to tighten his hold over the land, and
in the end he can do this only by making himself loved, indispensable and
redoubtable in the eyes of his maternal family.

423 The key to the significance of land in mediating relationships of this type lies
425 in the continuing doubt as to the permanence of the land transfer. At the outset
it is often for a single growing season. Sometimes a man is told that he may keep
the land as long as he resides in the village, or for his lifetime. But in practice his
tenure depends on the course of his relationship with the donor. He may even be
told that the land will be his permanently, though this is commonly only when
he is the original owner's sister's or daughter's son. Such a promise of permanent
occupancy, however, is never tantamount to ownership. In the next section we
shall show that it remains hazardous and unwise to grow cash crops such as
coffee on land given by the maternal family as long as fifty years previously,
because even after this long interval claims can be made for the return of the
land or of the proceeds from the crop. Thus a man has to pay very special
respect to his maternal family and have regard to its wishes, if he desires
continued enjoyment of the land. No other type of gift could do so much to
ensure that he will feel a dual allegiance to both his paternal and maternal
family.

We may summarise this relationship with the maternal family, for successful cases, in the following diagram. It will be noted that this diagram is basically similar to model 13, but there are significant differences in benefits exchanged: a maternal relative has no 'control' over the land-borrower, nor does the latter owe him any 'obedience'. Conversely, the land is not unconditionally available to further the best interests of the useholder's paternal family.

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574 796 763 628 It is emphasised even more strongly by the curious symbolism of the ritual death of the feast-giver. Once the food is collected and heaped up on a platform in the village, a message is sent to the guests. This message takes the form (in Hohorita) of a report that X (the giver of the feast) has a big sickness, and that 'he died last night' or that he 'will die today' or 'will die tomorrow'. The message is made to sound realistic: 'a tree was cut and hit him on the head; he is nearly dead.' One informant told me that he was at first actually deceived by it.

The effect of the message is to oblige the guests to interrupt whatever they are doing and come at once, as they would in the case of a death. But it also has a clear symbolic significance in that it equates the feast-giver with the victims to be immolated at the feast. This notion is found in other Papuan cultures, e.g. the Kiwai, who told Landtman that men actually die shortly after they have given a feast (1927: Ch. XXIV). A feast, in any event, signifies the entrance to the world of death and the ancestors.

574 796 628 At a feast two totally different types of food distribution take place. Cooked vegetables and meat are handed to the guests by the women of the host group in front of their private houses, and raw vegetables and meat are hurled at the guests by the men standing on platforms in the public area of the village. The women serving the meal behave with the ordinary propriety of Papuan hostesses, whereas the men, though actually rather careful in apportioning the tied heaps of taro and the joints of pig meat in accordance with the prominence of each group and group leader, put on prankish, irresponsible, abandoned, even insulting acts, and start meat fights at which the blood runs over the bodies of the recipients.

[231] The pigs used to be slaughtered ceremonially, 'a number of pigs being set in a row and struck simultaneously' with a spear (Williams 1930:61). They are butchered on a platform, the joints being invariably the same as those into which the body of Totoima was cut up. The giver of the feast enacts a ritual for the first-born sons of each family, passing them under his legs and then allowing them to eat of the heart and innards of at least one pig which are placed, still dripping with blood, inside the feast house. It is stipulated that the pig from which these parts are taken has to be killed by a 'father or brother' of the first-born and that the organs have to be extracted by the killer. This ritual, performed in Hohorita in 1966, is a fairly precise re-enactment of Totoima's murder of his son. It emphasises the identification of the feast-givers with Totoima. Although this ritual does not directly involve the guests, it can be performed only in the presence of guests, a curious fact that is adequately explained by the theoretical argument I presented above (Section 5).

796 574 782 The evidence given in the last few pages indicates that Orokaiva pig sacrifice is a form of communion with primeval beings. Certainly the men, after a ceremonial preparation of several months, have reached a psychological state of identification with the ancestors at the moment of sacrifice. There are no professional sacrificers among the Orokaiva, but all the men involved in the feast have, by the ritual exercises preceding the feast, developed *rapport* with the sacred world. Prior to sacrifice, the pigs are offered up to the clan ancestor by the calling out of the clan name. The fact that they are killed (or sacrificed) at all distinguishes the feast from an ordinary economic transaction, where the pig would serve as 'payment' for some gift previously received or a service rendered.

[769] [614]

177 If we analyse the reasons why the Australian government would
657 never have used these ordinances in the circumstances of 1951, we find
423 that these reasons lie principally in Western notions of government responsibility for victims of disasters and other values of Western Civilisation, restraining cupidity, and held more strongly that the Orokaiva, on the basis of their information, could have taken for granted. I myself found, and Mr. Sebire confirmed, that the Orokaiva even today are extremely familiar with the provisions of this old ordinance, and that they still fear it, even though it has been repealed some years ago.

177 The episode at Ilimo therefore undoubtedly did much to increase
659 confidence in Australian intentions. Mr. Kaad stated to me that
731 the main ultimate purpose of the camp administration was to teach new skills and a new way of life. Under camp conditions, there was a good opportunity to teach these new skills and put forward new ideas, but the real opportunity, he said, came later in the resettlement villages. The people at Ilimo had their world shattered and were still recovering from the shock. For that reason they could not absorb as much of what they were taught as they could have done normally.

177 After Ilimo broke up, Mr. Kaad transferred to Saiho, where the
657 new hospital was then being built and where an administrative centre was also established. (Only the Agriculture Department still operates from there today.) He attempted to develop further the new ideology he had been putting forward by contacts with the resettlement villages of Agenahambo, Kóipa, Awala, Waseta, Kongohambo and Hamuni. He continued his educational, agricultural and medical programmes for some months in these villages, but he was not able to stay long. From the viewpoint of today, these programmes cannot be seen as marking a permanent change in the pattern of Orokaiva-European contacts. It would be more correct to say that the European soon became as remote as before but that the ideas promoted at Ilimo and by Mr. Kaad were later taken up by the people in the framework of organisations where direct contact with Europeans retained only a minor role.

Section 9: Contact with Americans and Returned Ancestors

829 How did Orokaiva themselves classify white people? As we have seen, they do not classify them according to the organisational role they fulfill. I also found that ethnic origin of white people is usually not a basis upon which Orokaiva will classify them. There is, however, a more esoteric basis of classification which I encountered on a number of occasions.

829 It is well known that in many parts of Melanesia, there is a
● 769 belief in the return of ancestors, whose skins are white, and who bring wealth and a happier dispensation to their Melanesian descendants. The Orokaiva do not appear to look upon every white man they see as a

829 returned ancestor, but have principles for distinguishing between
769 those who are and those who are not ancestors. A territorial distinction that was suggested to me was that the Northern Hemisphere is generally regarded as inhabited by spirits and ancestors. (It was an educated informant who suggested this.) Some Papuans who went to England for the Queen's coronation could not believe that the buildings, the elevators, etc., had been built by ordinary men. A parcel of clothing, taken from England by a visitor was thought of as a gift from the ancestors.

Israel, Egypt, the Red Sea and other places mentioned in the Bible are especially so regarded. One example of the sacredness ascribed to these places was evident in the reception given to a popular missionary in the Kokoda district who returned to his parish after a visit to the Holy Land. The festivities with which he was received were very much out of the ordinary, and I was told this was because the ancestors had gone to these places.

In accordance with the usual Melanesian pattern, Australia, being the country exercising political and commercial control, was excluded from the vague area to which the ancestors had supposedly gone. On the other hand, New Zealand was not necessarily regarded in the same way as Australia. A young New Zealand geographer who paid a brief visit to Musuni (in the Sasembata district) and to myself at Sivepa had been showered with gifts and one man had pressed money upon him which he was asked to invest in New Zealand, in which case it was expected to multiply a thousandfold. The young man was prudent enough
123 to decline the offer. I do not quite know how my wife and I were
829 regarded in Sivepa, but there was evidence that the surrounding villages
769 likewise regarded us as returned ancestors; I was once drawn into a discussion with a branch of the Jegase clan group at Kiorota, four hours' walking from Sivepa, where it was known that we were living closely with the Jegase clan group. I was asked point-blank whether I belonged to the Jegase clan; later, the Sivepa people told me what the meaning of this question had been. It would seem that this identification with returned ancestors was due less to our geographical provenance than to the type of relationships we had developed with Orokaiva people; both the geographer and we were living in villages, eating with the people and sharing with them; my wife was gardening; our behaviour was not that of the <u>taupa</u>. To this point I shall return.

177 It must be due to reasoning of this sort that Americans were
829 placed definitely in the category of returned ancestors. I was told
769 they were very different from other <u>taupa</u> (or rather, they were not really <u>taupa</u> at all). The American forces, it will be remembered, fought the Japanese at the Kokoda Trail and drove them out of the Northern District in 1942-1943. Both they, and the Australian troops accompanying them, maintained friendly relations with the Orokaiva who helped them in various ways, supplied them with whatever food they had in return, received very generous gifts. The American soldiers ate with the Orokaiva, which Australian officials hardly ever do, and

177 fraternised with them. In fact, the friendly atmosphere created by
829 both the American and Australian troops during the war gave the Orokaiva
769 a different view of Europeans than they had before and must have greatly assisted the acceptance of the economic development ideology and local government council movement in the 1950's and 1960's. A
[415] great proportion of the cooking pots, adzes and other steel tools found in the villages today were gifts from the Americans.

769 In all the villages I visited, people listened to the news
829 broadcasts in Motu and Pidgin English; hence they heard about the Vietnam war and we discussed it a few times. The reaction was strange:
[207] it was a great pity that those American boys were being killed in
[191] Vietnam, because they were wonderful people. There was distinct disappointment that the Americans had decided to go to Vietnam instead of returning to Papua-New Guinea. Some jealousy was felt towards the Vietnamese who had now been thus favoured. I tried to assuage the disappointment felt by my informants by summarising some facts from the Manchester Guardian Weekly, my only source of knowledge at the time, but I could see that the convictions of the Orokaiva on this point were unshakable; they knew some things about the Americans which I was (or pretended to be) ignorant of.

Section 10: Self-Group Image

829 The self-group image of the Orokaiva has undergone a profound
[178] change since the war. The question that we need to investigate here is the extent to which the eruption experience affected this long-term change. The most useful procedure will therefore be, as in Section 8,
121 to set out first the present self-group image and its general development
128 over the last few decades; secondly, to place the data we have on the period immediately following the disaster in the framework of this general development.

829 Like other peoples I have personally studied (the New Zealand Maori and the Canadian Indian), the Orokaiva have been the recipients of a barrage of propaganda on the part of missionaries and government officials, who were critical of Orokaiva material standards, social customs and religious beliefs. They also supplied severe sanctions against those who did not change their material standards and customs while considerable inducements were held out to those who would. The Maori and the Blood Indians, while complying on the whole with the demands of the whites, at the same time retained a strong belief in the greatness and, often also, the superiority of their old customs. I was therefore surprised that the Orokaiva had nothing good to say about their own past, representing it as a nightmare from which they were glad to have escaped, while the teachings of the Europeans as well as their goods, provided an opportunity--the only known opportunity--for vast improvement.

829 I thought at first that this representation of Orokaiva history
173 (from the dark ages into a great future) was put on specially for my benefit. When I found Orokaiva were talking to each other in precisely the same terms, I thought that this view was held perhaps principally by persons with a vested interest, such as councillors, committee, etc. However, as I stayed longer, and became somewhat more trusted, I could still find no trace of nostalgia for customs that had been abandoned. I did, of course, become aware of the deep attachment the Orokaiva have for those of their traditional customs which they still practise, and values which they still hold.

[124] I shall quote in detail one document, a tape recorded speech
[126] made by a councillor in the Orokaiva language, which is typical of the present Christian Orokaiva self-group image. I have a number of others, consistent with this one in essence, though differing in some details to which I shall draw attention. Though Councillor Colin's speech was specially made up to be recorded by me on tape, during a session when several other recordings were made, its general tenor was no different from the speeches he interminably made at other times. The only slant that may have been unusual was the extent to which he referred to past history. I had asked, on this occasion for stories of olden times (iji matu). The councillor started with a brief sketch of the wars of his forebears; he stressed that he and his listeners were the descendants of strong fighting men who killed wayfarers as though they were dogs, and who conquered the lands of others. "Now, there is a new day, and therefore we must be united." Later, the councillor described, for my benefit, some of the traditional magic. But, he said, people did not get paid jobs, but Jesus Christ (first) gave jobs for people to take. The village constable would drag them to Kokoda in chains for having told lies, and the magicians would be put to work to stop them from being convicted. They would be fired from their jobs for idling. Such were the old days.

[177] This story stressed the most widely accepted differences between the old and the new way of life: war vs. peace, danger vs. security, division vs. unity, magic vs. Christianity, poverty vs. wealth, simplicity vs. smartness. The councillor was, in every respect, in
[625] favour of the new and opposed to the old way. He was not actually criticising the government, when referring to the activities of the
[769] village constables; nor was he criticising the village constables. On the contrary, the village constables of the early contact period are greatly revered; their names are remembered and recited in much the same way as those of other renowned ancestors. Those who were handcuffed this is the indignity remembered above all else--were lacking in smartness they just did not know the tricks for keeping out of trouble. The village constables, as I was also told at Hohorita, were the men who brought peace, who saw that people did not continue to fight each other.

At Hohorita, I had a series of discussions, at which a number of men participated, about Orokaiva history. On a number of points, which I could check, I was given reliable information. I would therefor

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of the evacuation camp provide an interesting case study in the relation between administration and Papuan ideologies.

Several frightening explosions and floods occurred in February and early March 1951. These vindicated the administration's restricted area policy, which kept the mountain slopes out of bounds. But after the period of acute volcanic phenomena was over, Orokaiva pressure on Mr. Kaad, administrator of the Ilimo Camp, grew steadily. The opening up of restricted areas began as early as April 1951, so that the population of Ilimo began to decline sharply in that month—from 2,000 to about 1,000. It declined to 500 before the camp was closed in May. Although the speed of resettlement did not actually conflict with administration policy, Kaad freely admits that the pace was forced by Orokaiva pressure.

This speedy return to the land was prompted largely by fears which rapidly began to overshadow the Sasembata villagers' fear of the mountain. In part, these fears were religious. Separation from the land meant separation from ancestral spirits who were left altogether untended when the whole community lost access to the land. Proper birth rites and ritual care for infants became impossible, as was ritual care for the dead, for both must be performed on the taro field associated with certain deceased consanguines. On the sociojural level, the migration of an entire agnatic group was dangerous since it could activate residual rights over land which were held by other agnatic groups.

It is likely that the same anguish about separation from the land would have been felt by most swidden agriculturists in the same circumstances. Such anguish cannot be fully explained by the religious and jural system prevailing in one culture alone. My purpose in this chapter, however, is more limited. It is to relate Orokaiva ideas about the eruption to Orokaiva ideas about land and spatial movement.

These ideas are part of the structural patterns to which I referred above: the weakness of corporate groups and the emphasis on the exchange system (see also Rimoldi 1966; Schwimmer 1970a, n.d.). At least half the land in Sivepe and nearly all the land in Inonda is occupied by persons other than the agnatic corporation acknowledged to be the "original" owners. Occupation of such land arises mainly out of use rights granted by these owners to nonagnates. In practice such use rights often become heredi-

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

taro ancestress is usually described as discovering the taro in a lake or other 'round water'. The demigod Totima comes closest to providing a general model of the primeval world of the swidden agriculturist and pig-raiser. Like Prometheus he is a sacrificial figure.[16]

Totoima was at the origin of the feasting institution (though there are other myths of the origin of feasting). It is here that questions of moral values mostly arise as feasting (*ergo* peace making) is the moral act *par excellence*. A direct connection is laid between the virtue of settling conflict and of feasting on the one hand and the fertility and yield of the garden on the other, as enemies are thought to ensorcell the gardens. Another important factor was the 'care' (*simbari*) (a general term covering magical as well as technical aspects) taken of the garden. The eldest male of the extended family, as father of the land, had a special duty as regards *simbari*. Garden magic was, however, made by all married males; they also made gifts to ancestors, who were thought to live in gardens and be reborn from there.

The model of the virtuous man was he who shared out his produce and made feasts (*hande embo*). Such a man would grow a surplus of food in a feasting garden. His power (*ivo*) would be manifest in the abundance of his pigs and taro. The model of the 'active man' would be the organizer of feasts in which the whole village participated (*kiti jigari embo*). Subordinate to him, but still high in reputation, would be experts at sorcery, healing, feather decoration and various forms of hunting, as well as those excelling in debate, rhetoric and diplomacy (*keari embo*).[17]

Identification occurred not only with crops, gods and ancestors, but also with trees harbouring local spirits, plant emblems harbouring lineage ancestors, animal guardians and plant doubles which were kept in the garden (usually surrounded by medicinal herbs) and contained the owner's life spirit, or perhaps name-spirit for the man bore the plant's name. A more complex aspect of identification with pigs and feast gardens is that such produce is destined to be given away, i.e. the owner expects to lose control over it; yet the donor remains identified with it and it calls for a return.[18] The same is true for the range of manufactures (clothes, pots, ornaments) that change hands at feasts.

The pattern described here is characteristic of what Sahlins (1974) called the domestic mode of production. Such a system produces, in his opinion, nothing but use values, even if they are 'exchanged' at feasts, for such 'exchange' is symbolically equivalent to a temporary extension of commensality. Slightly more complex